

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 The personal pronouns

The separate forms:

Sing. 1st P.	'ana	Plur. n·hna
2nd P. m.	'h·nt	'h·ntu
fem.	'h·nti	'h·ntu
3rd P. m.	hu:wī	h·nnun
fem.	hi:yī	h·nnin

Prepausal forms: 1st person sing. /'a:na/ ['ä:na], e.g. /'ana šu ba'mul 'a:na?/ what shall I do? 3rd person m. plur. /h·nno:n/.

/h·nnun/ and /h·nnin/, differentiating between genders, (compare Syr. Ar. *h·nnen* and Leb. *h·nne* which do not differentiate between genders), seem to be of Aramaic origin; cf. Old Syriac *henno:n* and *henne:n*.

The suffix forms:

Sing. 1st P.	-i, ni	Plur. -na
2nd P. m.	-ak	-kun
fem.	-ik	-kin
3rd P. m.	-u	-hun, -un
fem.	-ha, -a	-hin, -in

Prepausal forms: /-ko:n/, /-ho:n/.

/-ha/, /-hun/, /-hin/ are exclusively added to forms ending in a vowel; when added to final /-i/, /-hun/ and /-hin/ are often realized as /-n/, e.g. /ma baddi xalli:n išu:fu:ni/ I shall not let them see me.

Cabali follows N. Leb. in adding /-a/, without a trace of an *h*, to forms like /ḍarab/: /ḍarba/ he beat her; *v.* Kfar. p. 282, Enquête p. 387. Distinct from those dialects, Cabali has introduced the forms /-a/, /-un/ (and /-in/), without a trace of an *h*, even in the noun, e.g. /sám·kta/ and /sám·ktun/ her, their (m.) fish, in contrast to Leb. *sam(a)k'ta* < *samakiha*; *v.* Enquête, l.c. The form /sám·kta/ follows the stress pattern of /sám·ktu/ just as /ḍár·bta/ she beat her, follows the pattern of

/dár·btu/ she beat him. In the South Lebanese dialects, the opposite way of patterning prevails, where we find *ḍarab'ta* and *ḍarab'tto* (Enquête 387); cf. also Textes 322: *haddad'to* she warned him, and *šaḥṭ'to* she pushed him (Antoura). Against Syr.-Leb. *yo:m'ta* on that day (*sa:'ta* at that hour, *le:l'ta* on that night), Cabali has regularly /yo:mta/ or /yu:mta/.

The following forms of nouns with pronominal suffixes were dictated to me:

'axu:yi, my brother	bayti, my house	sám·kti, my fish
'axu:k	baytak	sám·ktak
'axu:ki	baytik	sám·ktik
'axu:	baytu	sám·ktu
'axu:ha/'axu:wa	bayta	sám·kta
'axu:na	ba:tna	samk·tna
'axu:kun	ba:tkun	samk·tkun
'axu:kin	ba:tkin	samk·tkin
'axu:hun/'axu:wun	baytun	sám·ktun
'axu:hin	baytin	sám·ktin

The negation /ma/ combines with the pronominal suffixes in the following way:

ma:ni, I am not	ma:nna/m·nna
ma:nak	mankun
ma:nik	mankin
maw/mu	ma:nun
may/mi	ma:nin

Tripoli (171): *mā:ni* (with *imâla*, never heard in Cabali), *m·nak* etc. Lebanese dialects generally add -š; v. Syntaxe p. 223f.: *manniṣ*, *mannakṣ* etc.

3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

a) of near objects:

Sing. m. ha:da, fem. ha:di, c.g. ha:ya

Plur. hawdi

In the examples noted, /ha:ya/ is connected with a masculine noun or used separately, e.g. /la ha:ya tna:n la ha:ya tla:ti/ (he sent) to this one two, to that one three. Originally a lengthened form of /ha-/ , this demonstrative is indifferent as to gender; concerning similar demonstrative formations ending in -ya, v. Demonstrativa pp. 98ff.

The plural /hawdi/ is Lebanese; *v.* Kfar. p. 274. Cabali has also augmented formations: /hawdin/, /hawde:n/ or /hawdä:n/, in which the deictic element /-e:n/ or /-ä:n/ of formations like /ba'dä:n/ then, /hallaq-tä:n/ now, is added to /hawdi/. If /hawdä:n/ is the original formation, /hawdin/ is probably the allegro form; e.g. /hawdin ·lula:d/ these children. It may be also a shortened form of N. Leb. *hawdinne* < *hawdi* + *hinne*, noted by Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas p. 200, § 40; cf. Demonstrativa p. 112f.

The deictic element or interjection /ha/, e.g. /d·xxa:na:tu ha m·twaṣṭa:t/ his tobacco (bundles) how mediocre they are, is joined to the definite article and to the relative /-l-/ , e.g. /ttabbu:ʿ hal-bimsuk b·ṭṭ·rš/ the lice that stick to the flock of sheep, /hal-k·bbaytu/ what you have poured out, /walad hal-qaddu/ a boy of this size.

In a few temporal adverbs, the definite article has kept its demonstrative sense, e.g. /lxaṭra/ this (that) time.

b) of distant objects:

Sing. m. *hada:k*, fem. *hadi:k*

ha:ka, fem. *ha:ki*

Plur. *hawdi:k*

hawki

/hada:k/ and /hadi:k/, different from Leb. *hayda:k* and *haydi:k*, with a short first syllable as in the Syrian urban dialects.

When asked for further forms like /hu:wi katab/ he wrote, my informant in Z. answered /ha:ki katbit/ that (woman) wrote, and then explained /ya'ni hal-ḥ·rmi ha:ki/ that is to say, that woman. Widely separated Arabic dialects, those of Tunisia, Lebanon, the Syro-Mesopotamian desert and Mardin, have developed a demonstrative of distant objects *ha:k* < **ha:ka* (cf. Class. Ar. *ḥa:ka*, *huna:ka* etc.); *v.* Demonstrativa 82. In the Lebanese dialects, an indeclinable *hā:k* is exclusively used as an adjective followed by the definite article; *v.* Syntaxe p. 330, Bišm. p. 128. In some Tunisian dialects, *ha:k*, fem. *ha:ki*, plur. *ha:kum* etc. has become a declinable separate pronoun; *v.* Demonstrativa p. 84f. Cabali has /ha:ka ha:ki hawki/ of distant objects, corresponding to the series /ha:da ha:di hawdi/ of nearer ones, used adjectively or separately, e.g. /ha:k ·lḥ·rmi/ that woman, or /hal-ḥ·rmi ha:ki/, /hawk ·zla:m/ those men, /rabaṭ ha:ki, šāh·nqit ha:ki/ he tied one (to a tree), the other one neighed (speaking of two mares).

As variant forms of /hawdi/ and /hawki/, were noted /hawde:t/,

tempo allegro /hawdit/, and /hawke:t/ (T.) of which I know of no parallel formation in the dialects. The element /-e:t-/ also occurs in /hne:ti/ here, occasionally used for the more usual /ho:n(i)/.

In the form /hayko:n/, tempo allegro /hayk·n/, the plural suffix *-(h)un* < *-(h)um* is added to the diphthongised form of *ha:k*; cf. Tunisian plur. *ha:kum*. The following examples were noted: /hayko:n ·nn·swa:n/ those women, /hayk·n ·lula:d/ those children.

3.3 Demonstrative adverbs

Local adverbs: hawni/ho:n, h·nna, hne:ti

hawni:k/huwni:k

Modal adverbs: hä:k/hayki

In the Syr.-Leb. dialects, ancient *ha:huna:* was dissimilated into *ha:una:*, which, with a shift of stress, became /hawni/, often shortened into /ho:n/; cf. Demonstrativa 118f. To /hawni/ is added the deictic element designating distant objects; /huwni:k/ is the allegro form of /hawni:k/.

Ancient *huna:* has continued in /hne:ti/, of which there seems to be no parallel formation in the area. It was only heard with final /-i/, which may be influenced by /hawni/. To the element /-e:t/ one would like to compare the variant forms /hawde:t/ and /hawke:t/ of the demonstrative pronouns /hawdi/ and /hawki/. In Djidjelli (p. 483), *hni:ta* here, shows a similar augmented form of *hna:*.

The form /h·nna/, e.g. /ya:xdu:n h·nna/ that they would take them here, /m·n h·nna la h·nna/ from here to there, continues ancient *hunna:* (Balâdhurî, Ansâb, V, p. 122, 1. 21, in a verse *min hunna: wahunna:*); rare traces in other dialects, v. Demonstrativa pp. 125f.

Of temporal adverbs, /hallaq/ is used for "now". Of the formations derived from Old Arabic *sa'a*, only /sa'a/ once, has kept the consonant /ʕ/, e.g. /sa'a y·truq b·r·cli šo:k sa'a m·t m·ccu:/ sometimes thorns hit my leg, sometimes I was starving to death. Like N. Leb. dialects, Cabali uses /ʕ·ssa/ in the meaning "still"; forms with pronominal suffix: /ʕ·ssa:/, /ʕ·ssa:ha/, /ʕ·ssa:hun/ he is still etc. For "not yet", one says /lassa ma/.

3.4 Interrogative pronouns

who: mi:n

what: šu

which (one): m. *nahu*, fem. *nahi*

/mi:nu/ < /mi:n+hu:(wi)/ who is he? is occasionally realized with vowel assimilation /mu:nu/.

In the Lebanese area, the word for "what" is a point of distinction between the two dialect groups: S. Leb. /šu/ and N. Leb. 'ayš/'ä:š; v. Enquête p. 388.

The interrogative /'ay/ (Class. Ar. 'ayy-, used in some Lebanese set phrases; Syntaxe p. 226) was noted only in the expression /'ay wa:hid/ whoever.

/nahu/, fem. /nahi/ which (one) < 'ayna+hu, 'ayna+hi (cf. Old Syriac 'aynaw); Kfar. 'ayna (p. 273), Bišm. 'aynu, fem. 'ayni, plur. 'aynin (p. 129), Syr. Ar. 'anu, fem. 'ani (Hama). Examples: /la bya'rif nahu nniza:m ula bya'rif.../ he does not know which (=what) discipline means, nor does he know..., /nahi lb-nt unahi l'm/ which one is the daughter and which one is the mother?

3.5 Interrogative adverbs

where: wa:n/wan

when: 'aymat/'i:mat

how: ki:f

why: lä:š

/wa:n/(<wa-'ayna) tempo allegro /wan/, with pronominal suff x /waynu/ where is he? 'ayna has continued in /m(·n)na:n/, often pronounced /m'nn·n/ from where?

/ki:f/, often also /ški:f/ in agreement with /šqad/ how much? is often followed by /ḥatta/ with no difference in meaning, e.g. /ki:f ḥatta 'axad/ how (why) did he take? In the same way /lä:š+(ḥat)ta/ gives /lä:šta/ why; a different explanation of the corresponding Lebanese form *lašta* by Brockelmann 234. Lebanese has also *kefta*; v. Syntaxe p. 229, note 1.

3.6 Indefinite pronouns

Corresponding to the positive /(l)wa:hid/ somebody, are the negative expressions /maḥ-ḥad/, /wlaḥ-ḥad/, /maḥ-ḥan/, /ma...ḥadi/, /ma...ḥadan/ nobody. The form /ḥadi/ is also in Syr. Ar. (Hama: *ḥade*; against Dam. *ḥada*), whereas Lebanese has *ḥada*; Kfar. p. 277, Bišm. p. 129.

The enclitic /-m·n/(<*man*) is added to interrogative expressions to form indefinite ones, e.g. /šū:m·n/ whatever, corresponding to Leb. *ʾaš-ma*.

3.7 Numerals

The cardinals 1–20:

wa:hīd, fem. w·hīdi	ḥdaʿš
tna:n, fem. t·nta:n	ṭnaʿš
tla:ti	ṭlaṭṭaʿš
ʾarbʿa	ʾarbaṭaʿš
xamsi	xamṣaʿš
s·tti	s·ṭṭaʿš
sabʿa	sabʿaṭaʿš
tmayni	tm·nṭaʿš
t·sʿa	t·sʿaṭaʿš
ʿašra	ʿšri:n

Preceding a noun, the cardinals 3 and 8 have the forms /tī·t(t)/ and /tm·n(t)/, e.g. /tī·tt·šhur/ three months, /tm·nt·rṭa:l/ eight pounds.

The numerals 1–10 combine with pronominal suffix, e.g. /tnayna:tna/ we two; cf. Syntaxe p. 173f.

Followed by a noun, the numerals 11–19 have the form ending in /-ar/, e.g. /ʿaš-xamstaʿšar yu:m/ 10–15 days.

Of the ordinals only /ta:nī:y/ second (fem.), is to be noted; cf. § 2.6.4.

The verb

3.8 The strong verb

	Type faʿal	Type fʿil
	Past tense	
Sing. 3rd P. m.	ḍarab	š·rib
fem.	ḍarbit	š·rbit
2nd P. m.	ḍrab·t	šr·b·t
fem.	ḍrabti	šr·bti
1st P.	ḍrab·t	šr·b·t
Plur. 3rd P. m.	ḍarbu	š·rbu
fem.	ḍrabni	šr·bni
2nd P.	ḍrabtu	šr·btu
1st P.	ḍrabna	šr·bna

Present tense

Sing. 3rd P. m.	by·ḍrub	by·šrab
fem.	bt·ḍrub	bt·šrab
2nd P. m.	bt·ḍrub	bt·šrab
fem.	bt·ḍr·bi/bt·ḍrabi	bt·šrabi
1st P.	b·ḍrub	b·šrab
Plur. 3rd P. m.	by·ḍr·bu/by·ḍrabu	by·šrabu
fem.	by·ḍr·bni	by·šrabni
2nd P.	bt·ḍr·bu/bt·ḍrabu	bt·šrabu
1st P.	mn·ḍrub	mn·šrab
Imp. ḍro:b, fem. ḍr·bi, plur. ḍr·bu	šra:b, šrabi, šrabu	

The distinction, lost in most sedentary dialects of East Mediterranean Arabic, between the 3rd person m. plur., ending in *-u*, and the fem., ending in *-ni*, has been kept in Cabali. In addition to our dialect, traces of *-n* have also been left in the dialects of Palmyra and Horan; *v. Palmyre*, p. 118, and *Hōrân*, p. 207; as to the bedouin dialects of Syria, *v. Etudes*, i. p. 79f.

Instead of /by·ḍrub/ etc., I most often heard /biḍrub/ etc.

Asking for further forms like /hu:wi birkud/ he runs, I had different answers: in Z. /h·nnun birk·du/ they run, in 'A.Q. and T. /h·nnun birkadu/, /h·nnun biktabu/ they write, etc. Forms like Syr. Ar. *by:k·tbu* were not accepted but corrected into /by'kt·bu/ or /by'ktabu/. Considering the fact that, in the dialects of the Syr.-Leb. area, the short vowels *i* and *u* in an open unstressed syllable were lost at an early stage of development, it seems likely that the original state of things in the dialect was a single type of Present, no matter whether containing /u/ or /a/ in the second syllable: /bt·ḍrabi/ like /bt·šrabi/ and /by·ḍrabu/ like [by·šrabu]. If this is so, the situation is not quite unique; a one-type Present like /by·šrab/ exists, as a local peculiarity, in the Lebanese area, *v. Enquête* 389.

In connected speech, the quality of the Present tense vowel is often not clear, being realized as a simple vocoid. Apart from pre-pausal position, e.g. /ma mn·ḡdi:r/ we can not, few clear examples were noted of Present tense forms containing /i/ in final closed syllable. Of /bya'rif/ he will know, the forms ending in a vowel are realized without a vowel following the second radical: /bta'rfi/ you (fem. sing.) will know, /bya'rfu/ they will know. On direct inquiry about the Present tense forms of the following verbs which, comparing with cognate dialects,

could be expected to have a Present *i*-form, the following answers were given:

/ʿ·mil/ he made: /byaʿmul/ [biʿamul]

/l·bis/ he dressed: /bilbus/

/n·zil/ he went down: /binzul/

Trying the Imperative form *nze:l*, I was told that it was "old", the Cabali form being /nzo:l/; also /lbo:s/.

A morphological difference between a transitive type of the Present tense ending in a vowel and an intransitive type was found with informants living in Z. by whom I was told to say /biktub—bikt·bu/; they accepted the following oppositions:

/bixr·bu baytu/ they will destroy his house: /bixrabu/ they will be destroyed;

/bisk·ru lmay/ they will dam up the water: /biskaru/ they will be intoxicated.

Unfortunately, I could not go into this problem with informants by whom I was told to say /biktub—biktabu/.

3.8.1 Secondary forms of the strong verb

In the paradigm of the II. Form, the apophony *a > ə* in an unstressed syllable is regular:

Sing. 3rd P. m.	ballaš, he started	Plur. bašū
fem.	bašit	
2nd P. m.	b·llašt	b·llaštu
1st P.	b·llašt	b·llašna

Examples of forms with pronominal suffix: /š·llaḥta/ she robbed her, /d·bb·rna:ha/ we arranged her, /s·ll·mna:ha/ we delivered her, /ʿalqa/ he hanged her up (Syr. Ar. *ʿallāq(h)a*), /ráyy·ḥna/ (God) saved us (cf. /ḏār·bna:/; Syr. Ar. *rayyahna*); /m·nkabsa/ we shall press her (Syr. Ar. *m·nkabb:s(h)a*).

Forms (*t*)/ayʿal have left traces in which the diphthong /ay/ is realized as /iy/ in an unstressed syllable, e.g. /ṭaylaʿ/ [tā:laʿ] he let up, /tqiytalna/ we fought with one another; also of a weak stem: /xiywa:ha/ [xe:wa:ha] he made her his sister (Syr. Ar. *xa:wa*, *wa:xa*: < *ʿa:xa*:); cf. § 2.6.4.

In quadrilaterals post-tonic *a* is dropped in an open syllable:

Past tense

Sing. 3rd P. m.	šahnaq, he brayed	Plur. m. šáh·nqu
fem.	šáh·nqit	

Present tense forms ending in a vowel show the same characteristic feature as the three-radical verb, e.g. /m·nfakf·ku/ we shall loosen him (not *m·nfak·fku*).

3.8.2 The strong verb with pronominal suffixes

Past tense

Sing. 3rd P. m.	ḍarabni/ḍár·bni	ḍarabna/ḍár·bna
	ḍarbak	ḍarabkun/ḍár·bkun
	ḍarbik	ḍarabkin/ḍár·bkin
	ḍarbu	ḍarbun
	ḍarba	ḍarbin
	fem. ḍár·b·tni	ḍár·b·tna
	ḍár·btak/ḍarbi:tak	ḍár·b·tkun
	ḍár·btik/ḍarbi:tik	ḍár·b·tkin
	ḍár·btu/ḍarbi:tu	ḍár·b·tun/ḍarbi:tun
	ḍár·bta/ḍarbi:ta	ḍár·b·tin/ḍarbi:tin
2nd P. m.	ḍrab·tni	ḍrab·tna
	ḍrabbtu	ḍrabbtun
	ḍrabta	ḍrabtin
	fem. ḍrabti:ni	ḍrabti:na
Plur. 3rd P. m.	ḍrabti:	ḍrabti:hun
	ḍrabti:ha/ḍrabti:ya	ḍrabti:hin
	ḍarbu:ni	ḍarbu:na
	ḍarbu:k	ḍarbu:kun
	ḍarbu:ki	ḍarbu:kin
	ḍarbu:	ḍarbu:hun
	ḍarbu:ha/ḍarbu:wa	ḍarbu:hin
	fem. ḍrab·nni	
	(Of /ḍrabni/ they (fem.) beat, only this form was noted.)	
	2nd P. ḍrabbtu:ni	ḍrabbtu:na
1st P.	ḍrabbtu:	ḍrabbtu:hun/ḍrabbtu:wun
	ḍrabbtu:ha/ḍrabbtu:wa	ḍrabbtu:hin
	ḍrabna:k	ḍrabna:kun
	ḍrabna:ki	ḍrabna:kin
	ḍrabna:	ḍrabna:hun
	ḍrabna:ha	ḍrabna:hin

The structure of the forms /ḏarbak/, /ḏarbik/, /ḏarbu/, /ḏarba/ and /ḏarbun/ Cabali has in common with Lebanese dialects; cf. Kfar. p. 282. Unlike the Syr.-Leb. forms *ḏ(a)rabni* and *ḏ(a)rabna*, in the case of the corresponding forms /ḏār·bni/ and /ḏār·bna/, where the suffixes are added to a form *ḏarb-*, the three-consonant group is treated according to the pattern C·CC. In the system of the 3rd person m. sing., suffixes are added to one single form of the verb. This form is identical with the maṣdar, e.g. /nāq·lna/ our transfer, and carries the stress. The development that, in the dialect of Kfar 'abida, led to the form *ḏarba* thus seems to have continued in Cabali throughout the whole system of the 3rd person m. sing.: /ḏār·bni/ against Kfar. *ḏr·bni* (*ḥmōlné*), /ḏār·bkun/ against Kfar. *ḏr·bkun* (*ḥmōlkon*), etc.

In the system of the 3rd person fem. sing., after *i* of the ending *-it* had fallen out, the three-consonant group has been treated according to the pattern C·CC, e.g. /ḏār·btak/, the four-consonant group on the pattern CC·CC, e.g. /ḏarb·tni/. Concerning the widespread *-i:t*-forms, v. Enquête p. 393 (1): "Il est usuel dans le Béka du Nord à ej-Jdaïde . . . Je l'ai relevé dans le parler de Maronites de Banias (du pays alaouite), p. ex. *katbitu*."

Of the Present tense, the following forms of /bikmuš/ he will seize, were dictated to me:

Sing. 3rd P. m.	bikm·šni	bikm·šna
	bikm·šak	bikm·škun
	bikm·šik	bikm·škin
	bikm·šu	bikm·šun
	bikm·ša	bikm·šin
Plur. 3rd P. m.	bikm·šu:ni	bikm·šu:na
	bikm·šu:k	bikm·šu:kun
	bikm·šu:ki	bikm·šu:kin
	bikm·šu:	bikm·šu:hun
	bikm·šu:ha	bikm·šu:hin
fem.	bikm·š·nni	

With regard to stress in forms like /bikm·šu/, /bikm·ša/ etc., I found the place of it varying or not easily discernible. I have noted e.g. [bikmišun] and [y'mšuku] he would seize him, with stress on the first syllable, but also [na'mlīn] we made them, [mn·šlāhin] we shall throw them.

Examples of the Past tense of verbs of the type *f'íl* with suffix: /t'·bta/ I worked hard with her, /l·ḥqu:wa/ they arrived at her, /'m·ltu:wa/ you (plur.) made her.

3.8.3 These are the forms of the verb /xalaq/ he created, with the indirect suffixes as they were dictated to me in Z. and T.:

xál·q-li	xalq·nna
xál·q-lak	xalq·lkun
xál·q-lik	xalq·lkin
xál·q-lu	xál·q-lun
xál·q-la	xál·q-lin

Distinct from the Syr.-Leb. dialects, which add *-lli*, *-llak* etc. to forms ending in two consonants, e.g. *k(a)tabt·llo* I wrote to him, *q'·lt·llo* I said to him, Cabali has /ktáb·t-lu/, /q·lt-lu/, e.g. /sm'·t-lu ḥka:y/ I heard a saying about him.

In forms like /la:qu-nna/ and /yla:qu-nna/ they met us, the indirect suffixes have entered the field of the direct suffixes.

3.8.4 The Participle. Like the non-differentiating dialects, Cabali has given up the opposition between active and passive voice of the *m*-participles *muḥa''il*—*muḥa''al* etc. After the difference had been lost in forms containing endings, in which *a/i* in an open unstressed syllable had fallen out, the choice between them in a final syllable seemed to be free. There is only a clear preference for the *a*-form: /hu:wi m'ammar ba:t/ he had built a house, /xayyi mu mbayyan/ my brother was not present, /m·twaṣṣaṭ m·n 'm·r/ middle-aged, /hu:wi 'a:kil ·mkattar/ he had eaten much, /'ana m·staḡrab/ I find it strange, /d·lla:t ·mšarraq/ I went on going eastward (but /mšarriq/ and /mḡarrib/ to the east/west of), /šū mšayyad/ what have you caught? With *i*, I have noted only /m·frid/ odd (number), /'aqlu mḥaccir/ his intelligence is petrified, weak.

Verbs of the type *f'íl* have an Act. Part. *f'la:n* (Syr. Ar. *fa'la:n*), e.g. /q·bil/ he accepted: /q·bla:ni:ti/ she accepts me.

3.9 Verba hamzata

In the verbs /'axad/ he took, /'akal/ he ate, Cabali shows the characteristic feature of the North Lebanese dialects, which have lost an unstressed first syllable in forms like /xat/ I took, /kalt/ I ate.

Past tense		Present tense
Sing. 3rd P. m.	'axad	bya:xud
	fem. 'axdit	bta:xud
2nd P. m.	xat	bta:xud
	fem. xatti	bta:xdi
1st P.	xat	ba:xud
Plur. 3rd P. m.	'axdu	bya:xdu
	fem. xadni	?
2nd P.	xattu	bta:xdu
1st P.	xadna	mna:xud

Imperative: xo:d, x·di/xe, x·du.

Examples of forms with pronominal suffix: /'axda/ he took her, /'ax·ttu/ she took him, /'ax·ttin/ she took them (fem.), /xat-lak/ I took for you, /xad·nnu/ they (fem.) took him, /ba:xdin/ I shall take them, /bya:xdu:ni/ they will take me, /x·dun/ take them; /kalta/ I ate her (i.e. I have got my share of it).

Of verbs of which the second radical is /' / the following forms of /sa'al/ were noted: Imp. /s'a:l/, Part. act. /s·'la:n/, Part. pass. /'ana mas'u:l 'annak/ I am responsible for you.

3.10 Verba I. radicalis *w* and *y*

Of the verbs in which the first radical is *w* there are two types:

1. /waşaf/ he described: /byu:şuf/, Imp. /wşo:f/, fem. /wş·fi/
/wazan/ he weighed: /byu:zun/ (T.; not accepted in Z., where only the forms /za:n—bizi:n/ are used).
/waqad/ he lighted: /byu:qud/
/waqa'/ he fell: /byu:qa'/
2. /w·şil/ he arrived: /byu:şal/ (The forms were accepted; in the texts only /l·hiq—by·lhaq/ are used).
/w·rim/ he swelled: /byu:ram/
/w·ldit/ she gave birth: /btu:lad/ and /btu:lud/

For "to stand" only the forms /waqqaf—biwaqqif/ were accepted.

No example of hybrid forms like *byu:şa:l* was noted; cf. Kfar. p. 144, Bišm. pp. 136f.

This is how the Past tense forms of the verb "to give birth" were dictated to me:

hi:yi wuldit
h·nti ulitti

'ana wlit(t)
 h·nnin ulidni
 n·hna wlidna

Of verbs with the first radical *y* the following were accepted: /y·bis/ he dried up: /bi:bas/, /y·qiz/ he woke up: /bi:qaz/ (In the texts only /fa:q—bifi:q/ was noted).

3.11 Verba mediae geminatae

Past tense		Present tense
Sing. 3rd P. m.	rad(d)	bir'd(d)
fem.	raddit	b·tr'd(d)
2nd P. m.	r·dda:t	b·tr'd(d)
fem.	r·ddayti	b·tr·ddi
1st P.	r·dda:t	br·d(d)
Plur. 3rd P. m.	raddu	bir·ddu
fem.	r·ddayni	?
2nd P.	r·ddaytu	b·tr·ddu
1st P.	r·ddayna	m·nr'd(d)

Imperative: r·d(d), fem. r·ddi, plur. r·ddu.

Participle: ra:did, fem. ra:ddi, plur. ra:ddi:n.

Forms with suffix: /h·tṭayta/ I put her, /d·bbayna:hin/ we dropped them (fem.), /dabbi:ta/ she dropped her, /hātṭita/ she put her, /ma bḥ·dda/ I can't delimit (=remember) her, /ḥayṭ·ṭni/ putting (m.) me; cf. § 2.6.2.

Instead of the regular forms /d·lla:t/ I went on (going etc.), /d·llayna/ we went on, I most often heard /dla:t mā:ši/, /ḍlayna mā:ši:n/.

3.12 Verba mediae infirmae

The three types of "hollow verbs" are represented by the following examples:

1. /ša:f/ he saw: /bišu:f/
2. /ca:b/ he brought: /bici:b/
3. /na:m/ he slept: /bina:m/

Examples of the third type: /ba:t/ he spent the night, /xa:f/ he was afraid, /ga:r/ he was jealous, /na:l/ he obtained, /ha:b/ he feared.

A few verbs have a double Present tense form: /biqu:m/ he will stand up, /biqu:m/ he will raise, remove, /bidu:r/ he will go round, /bidi:r/ (trans.).

Past tense

3rd P. fem. ša:fit

1st P. š-ft

etc.

Present tense

b-tšu:f, b-cci:b, b-tna:m

bšu:f, bci:b, bna:m

Imperative: šu:f, fem. šu:fi, etc.

Examples of forms with pronominal suffix: /ca:bni/ he brought me, /cab-li/ he brought for me, /ca:bitu/ she brought him, /ca:bita/ she brought her. In the Present tense, the forms with indirect suffix /biq-l-li/, /biq-l-lak/ etc., he will say to me, to you, etc., have influenced forms like /biq-llu:-li/ they will say to me, with doubling of the third radical.

The Active participle /ša:yif/ is most often heard as /šayyif/, fem. /šayfi/ (like /mayyit/, /mayti/). On direct enquiry about it, I was told that "there are people among us who say /šäyyif/, but most of us say /šä:yif/". The following examples are quoted from the records: /cayyib/ bringing, fem. /caybi/, plur. /caybi:n/, /cayyi/ coming, m. and fem. alike, /šayyil/ carrying, taking away, /fayyit/ entering. In tempo allegro, /-a:yi/, /-ayyi/ is occasionally heard as [e:], e.g. /'bqa še:f ·bna:m/ I was dreaming. The plur. form /ra:hi:n/ going, often heard as a variant of /rayhi:n/, is due to the phonetic variance /a:/: /ay/ in an unstressed syllable; v. § 2.6.4. The sing. /ra:h/ has developed into an index of the near future /rah/, /lah/; cf. Syntaxe 51f. Other forms like /ra:h/ were occasionally heard, e.g. /yḏal ʔa:l/ he was waiting (cf. Barthélemy p. 493, s.v.: ʔa:l ytu:l ma ḥasen ʔa:lo "il n'a pu l'atteindre"), /ḏ-lla:t ʔa:h/ I went on running.

3.13 Verba III. radicalis y

Of the verbs of which the third radical is y the "non-differentiating dialects" of Northern Lebanon have kept one single type of the Past tense of the I. Form: *r-ḏi* continuing Classical Arabic *radīy-*; v. Enquête p. 388. In the Present tense, there are in those dialects two types: one, the most frequent, ending in *-i*, and another ending in *-a*; Kfar-Šghab p. 105, *byemši* he will go, *byensa* he will forget. Cabali follows the "differentiating dialects" of South Lebanon, Tripolis and the Syrian urban dialects having two types of the first Form:

	I		II	
	Past	Present	Past	Present
Sing. 3rd P. m.	raḏa	by-rḏi	r-ḏi	by-rḏa
fem.	raḏit	bt-rḏi	r-ḏit	bt-rḏa

2nd P. m.	rda:t	bt·rđi	rđi:t	bt·rđa
fem.	rđayti	bt·rđi	rđi:ti	bt·rđi
1st P.	rda:t	b·rđi	rđi:t	b·rđa
Plur. 3rd P. m.	rađu	by·rđu	r·đu	by·rđu
fem.	rđayni	?	rđi:ni	?
2nd P.	rđaytu	bt·rđu	rđi:tu	bt·rđu
1st P.	rđayna	mn·rđi	rđi:na	mn·rđa

Different from the Syro-Lebanese dialects, which have introduced radical *y* in forms ending in *-it* and *-u* in forms of the type *r·đi*, e.g. *m·šyet* and *m·šyu* she, they walked, Cabali has kept ancient forms without *y*: /m·šit/ and /m·šu/.

Both types of forms are represented by the following verbs /bala/ he wore out: /by·bli/, /b·li/ he was worn out: /by·bla/; /cafa/ he treated hard: /by·cfi/, /c·fi/ he was hard: /by·cfa/; /'ama/ he blinded: /by·'mi/, /'·mi/ he was blind: /by·'ma/. Of the root *sqy* only /saqa/ he irrigated: /by·sqi/, was accepted by my informants (not *s·qi*—*by·sqa*).

To the Present form /by·qra/ he will read, correspond the Past tense forms /qara/, fem. /qarit/ etc. like /rađa/; against Syr.-Leb. *q·ri*, fem. *q·ryit*. The Past tense forms of /by·mši/ he will walk, and /by·bki/ he will weep, are /m·ši/ and /b·ki/.

Examples of forms of the second type: /by·hđa/ he will find, /y·xsa/ may he be far away.

Imperative of the typ types /m·ši/ he walked, and /n·si/ he forgot:

	I	II
Sing. m.	mši, P. mšä	nsa, P. nsä
fem.	mši	nsi
plur.	mšu, P. mšo	nsu, P. nso

Forms like *'·mši* and *'·nsa* were not heard.

The Active participle of the form /a·'il/: /ma:ši/ walking, fem. /ma:ši:y/, plur. /ma:ši:n/.

Examples of the secondary forms:

II. /m·đđa:t/ I spent (two years), /x·bba:t/ I hid, /h·nt ·mxabba:hin/ you have hidden them, /x·bbayna:hin/ we hid them, /'abu:k ·mrabba:k/ your father has brought you up.

III. /la:qa—yla:qi/ to meet, /'ana mla:qa:k/ I met you,

VIII /·tt·ka:t/ I lay down on my elbows, /štara/ he bought, fem. /št'rit/, /m·štri:ha/ I have bought her, /št'kit/ she complained.

The verb "to come":

Past tense		Present tense
Sing. 3rd P. m.	(')ca	by·ci, P. bicā:
fem.	(')cit	bt·ci
2nd P. m.	ci:t	bt·ci
fem.	ci:ti	bt·ci
1st P.	ci:t	b·ci
Plur. 3rd P. m.	(')cu	by·cu
fem.	ci:ni	?
2nd P.	ci:tu	bt·cu
1st P.	ci:na	mn·cu

As Imp., Cabali like other Syr.-Leb. dialects uses /t'a/, P. /t'ä:/.

Participle: /cayyi/ m. and fem., plur. /cayyi:n/, occasionally the form /ci:n/ was heard, e.g. /t·mmayna ci:n/ at last we came.

3.14 Preverbal particles

Progressive Present. Examples: /šū ma-ssa:wu ho:ni/ what are you doing here? /lqa:t x·tya:ra ma-tx'd/ I found an old woman churning, /ma-q'l-lak/ I tell you, /ma-tmu:t ·l'a:lam/ people are dying, /ma-t'aššu: ma-tmaššu:/ you are giving him supper, you are guiding him, /lā:š ma-t'bki/ why are you weeping? /ša:fu:hun ma-yh·ššu/ they saw them eat voraciously, /k·nt ma-'flaḥ/ I was working (in the field); /'am by·rbah/ he is making a profit, /'am by·r'u/ they were grazing (the cattle), /ma 'amma bicu:z/ it is not permissible, /'amma:l y·'ruc/ he is limping.

As can be seen from the examples, the index /ma-/, always followed by the y-form of the verb, is used in Cabali beside /'am(ma)/ and /'amma:l/. In this respect, the situation in our dialect is the same as in N. Leb., of which the index /ma-/ is a characteristic feature; *v. Enquête* pp. 388, 392f.

The negation. As the index /ma-/ of progressive Present is always followed by a y-form of the verb, there can be no confusion between positive /ma-/ and the negation: /ma-y·ktub/ he is writing, /ma by·ktub/ he does not write. There can be no confusion either with the relative pronoun /ma/, which, for the sake of clearness, takes the form /'l-ma/, e.g. /'l-ma by·laq/ which clings to.

When followed by a Present *b*-form, the negation /ma/ is often dissimilated into /ʔa/; cf. *Syntaxe* pp. 221, 367, note 1. Example: /la waʕla ʔa bsa:lħak/ no, I swear, I shall not reconcile with you.

Except the expression /ma:š/ there is nothing, the negative complement -š is not used in Cabali; concerning the boundaries of -š in the Lebanese area, v. *Enquête* p. 389; forms like ʔa baʔrefš I don't know, were not noted.

3.15 Prepositions

[b]. Apart from the inherited expression /š-ba:k/ what's the matter with you? /fi/ has replaced /b/ when connected with pronominal suffixes: /fi:yi, fi:k/ etc., in Cabali like other Syr.-Leb. dialects. On the other hand /b/ has generally replaced /fi/ connected with a noun: /b-ḏḏayʔa/ in the village. When not followed by the definite article, /b/ has taken over the vowel of /fi/: /bi haḏḏayʔa/ in this village. Examples like /bi ḏayʔa/ in a village, have replaced /fi ḏayʔa/, which now means "there is a village".

/l/ with pronominal suffix in a non-enclitic position. The following examples were noted: /ʔ-za q-bil ʔ-lna wlak, ma q-bil ma lak ši/ if (the crop) is fertile, it will belong to us and you; if not, you will have nothing, /ʔ-ana li [lā] wa:ħid ša:ħib/ I have a friend, /ha:da ʔali/ this belongs to me. According to Feghali, the use of ʔ-l- with suffix in a non-enclitic position is limited in the Lebanese area and due to the influence of literary language; v. *Syntaxe* p. 359: "ʔel-et ʔéga (with the same prothetic vowel) appartiennent surtout au langage des citadins et sont peu répandus parmi les gens de la campagne". Unfortunately I did not try to find out the full series of forms corresponding to /ha:da ʔali/; concerning other rural dialects cf. for instance Hōrân p. 399: ʔeli, ʔelak etc., where the series containing *lēha*, *lēna* is evidently the continuation of ʔilayha:, ʔilayna:.

/la/ continues Old Arabic ʔilay. The vowel /a/ is kept in an open syllable: /ci:t la bayti, la ho:n/ I came home, here, /la ḥ-dd ʔa:n/ until now; the diphthong /ay/ in /layyi/ to me. /la/ represents also Old Arabic ʔalay, e.g. /nla:qi:lun la hadru:b/ we met them on this road, /ʔ-ana la ba:b ʔlmaḡfar/ I was (standing) at the door of the police station; in temporal adverbs: /la šš-bħ/ in the morning, /la lmasa/ in the evening, /la ʔi:ya:m ʔrabi:/ in the days of spring, /la do:r ʔfransa/ in the days of France (i.e. the French mandate); cf. *Syntaxe* p. 393: ʔa ʔiyām à l'époque où, ʔaḏ-dohr à midi. In accordance with /la ʔaraf/, /la camb/ apart, aside, one says also /la ʔada/ except (instead of *m-n ʔada*).

/m·n/, with pronominal suffix/: m·nni/, m·nnak, /m·nkun/ etc., preceding the definite article: /m·lyo:m/ from today; occasionally also /m cayli/ of my generation, of my age (= *min ci:li*). Unlike the Syrian urban dialects, which combine the prepositions /ba'd/, /taħt/, /fo:q/ with the pronominal suffixes by means of *l-m-n*, e.g. *ba'd l-m-nno* after him, Cabali has /ba'd m·nna/ afterwards, /taħt m·nnu/ under him, etc.; cf. *Syntaxe* pp. 398f. Like Lebanese, Cabali frequently uses /ħad m·nnu/ beside him (Syr. Ar. *camb l-m-nno*); cf. Middle Arabic *li-ħaddi*.

/mħaydi/ in front of, e.g. /waqa'mħaydi:yi/ (the arrow) fell just in front of me; cf. Class. Ar. *huwa muħa:ða:ka*.

/barra/ out (of doors), is used as a preposition: /barra lbla:d/ outside the country, /barra lma'z/ except the goats. The Syr.-Leb. form *barra:t* was not heard.

/ħwa:li/ around (Class. Ar. *ħawalay-*), e.g. /ħwa:l dday'a/ around the village, /la ħwa:l l-m-g-rbi:ya:t/ until about sunset.

3.16 Conjunctions

Conditional: 'za/'aza, 'n/'an, law/lu, kanni, kannak etc.

Examples: /'za by-gl·bni bya:xud . . ./ if he beats me, he will have . . .; /'an għabtak ba:xud m·nnak xams lā:ra:t u'an glāb·tni bta:xud . . ./ if I beat you, I shall have from you 5 pounds, and if you beat me, you will have . . .; /'an uqa'na m·nxalliṣ ħa:lna/ if we fall, we shall save ourselves; /lu ḡal ṣah·r baddi c·b-lak/ even if it will take a month, I shall bring you; /kannak zalmi b-tga:lbu/ if you are a (real) man, you will defeat him, /k·n (=kannu) baddu y·nqur/ as if he wanted to peck.

Sentences with an exception following a negative sentence are introduced by simple /'lla/ (= 'lla ma), e.g. /ma biṣi:r 'lla t·tħub/ there is no alternative to you seeking. /'lla/ is shortened into /la/ in expressions like /ma:lna la-l'šya ħa:di/ we have only these things; cf. *Syntaxe* p. 428.

/law na'am/ no (denial or refusal), seems to be a Cabali peculiarity.

Temporal:

/ta/</ħatta/ (temporal or final) until, in order that; frequently occurring in its full form, shortened into /ħa/ when preceding a Present *t*-form, e.g. /ba'd tl·ttiyya:m ħa-t's'al/ (let it be only) after three days that you ask, /ħa-tku:n cayyi 'a ra:s'abu:yi ca:zit/ even if you are coming for the head of my father it will be permitted (to you). To the form /la-ħatta:li/ until, cf. Syr. Ar. *la-ħatta* and *ħ-tla:ne* (<ħatta: 'an?).

Examples: /xallayta ta fa:tit/ I waited until she had entered, /tanhit hal'a:lam m-l'ak-l ṭalab halwalad/ until (=when) the people had finished eating he sent for the boy, /ta 's'al m-nna b-ci bq-l-lak/ when I have asked her I shall tell you, /ta yši:r ·kbi:r m-nci/ when it has grown up we will come.

/la/ (<'ila:) until. Already in Middle Arabic 'ila: ('an) had acquired the notion "when"; cf. the examples just quoted of /ta/. Concerning the geographical distribution of /la/ for /ta/ in Lebanon and Syria, v. Syntaxe p. 423 "dans quelques régions", and Barthélemy p. 742, s.v.: "n'est pas employé dans tous les quartiers d'Alep".

To Lebanese *l-mm-l(li)* when, introducing a Past tense clause (v. Syntaxe p. 435), correspond /l-mt-l(li)/, with a /-t-/ inserted from /waqt-l(li)/ at the time when, and /sa:'t-l(li)/ at the hour when. Examples /l-mt-l q-ddamta/ when I presented her, /waqt-cca/ when he came, /m-sa:'t ša:rt ·ssa:'a w-ḥdi/ when it became one o'clock.

/m-šši/ when, Leb. (Syntaxe, p. 9), e.g. /m-šši 'ṭaytu ya:ha ša:r iq:l-li/ when I gave it to him, he said, /m-šši lamm ·ḍdaw/ when it became dark.

With the relative /ma:/ /ma za:l/, e.g. /ma za:lu ša:f /as long as (because) he could see, /(ma) da:ma ma 'aklit/ as she had not eaten.

Hypotactic /w:/ /ma raḥ n'ftaḥ uma nšarriḥ/ we shall not open until we have sold, /ma biši:r 'qbal fi:k uma 'a:xud 'la:k/ I shall not accept you unless I make a condition for you, /ma biši:r uma ru:ḥ šu:fa/ there is no alternative to my going to see her.

ORIENTALIA GOTHOBURGENSIA

1

Notes on Cabali

The Arabic dialect spoken by the Alawis of "Jebel Ansariye"

By

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